

# **Terrorism and Globalization**

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## **Introduction**

the relationship between terrorism and globalization is different to describe accurately. It is inaccurate to suggest that globalization is responsible for terrorism , but terrorists have indeed exploited technologies associated with globalization. Such technologies have increased the ability of terrorist groups to work together, share information and reach out to previously unavailable

audiences.

Terrorism is a weapon of the weak, conducted by minority who promote an extremist ideology. It often fails to create political change. The global community is not powerless in the face of such violence. In order to combat terrorism successfully, the global community must utilize the resources at its disposal collaboratively, in a way that is consistent with the international law and human rights, to diminish support for terrorism and demonstrate the illegitimacy of terrorist messages and aspirations.

### **Definition**

- terrorism and globalization share at least one thing in common - both at complex phenomena open to subjective interpretation.
- Terrorism is characterized, first and foremost, by the use of violence. This tactic of violence takes many forms and often indiscriminately targets non-combatants.

Historically, the term terrorism described state violence against citizens during the French Revolution (1789-99). Over the past half century terrorism has come to mean the use of violence by small groups aiming to achieve political change.

Those sympathetic to terrorist causes, try to legitimize their violence and suggest that violence is the only remaining option by which the aggrieved can draw attention to their plight. Such causes have included ideological, ethnic, and religious exclusion or persecution.

Those targeted by terrorists are less inclined to see any justification, much legitimacy, behind attacks that are designed to spread fear by killing and maiming civilians. As a result, the term 'terrorist' has a pejorative value that is useful in delegitimizing those who commit such acts.

Realist suggest that the political valence used by terrorist grows is illegitimate on the basis that state alone has a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force.

Terrorism is the weakest form of irregular warfare with which to alter political landscape. The reason for this weakness is that terrorist groups rarely posses the border support of the population because their goals for change are based on radical ideas that do not have widespread appeal. In order to effect change, terrorist must provoke drastic responses that catalyze change or weaken their opponent moral resolve. Many terrorist

leaders hope that their actions will elicit disproportionate state reactions, which in turn sour public and international opinion and increase support for their cause. Terrorist fouls risk fading into obscurity if they do not cow the public or conduct newsworthy attacks. However, attacks by terrorist that are horrific, such as 2014 Peshawar School massacre by the TTP ; which took the innocent lives of 132 school children, puts support for terrorist causes at risk. Therefore, terrorism is defined as the use of violence by sub state groups to inspire fear, by attacking civilians and/or symbolic targets, for purposes such as drying widespread attention to a grievance, provoking a severe response, or wearing down their opponent's moral resolve, in order to effect political change.

Types of terrorist groups
Audrey Kurtz Cronin has outlined different types of terrorist groups in the following words : " there are four types of terrorist organization operating around the world, categorized mainly by the source of their motivation ; left-wing terrorists , right-wing terrorists, ethnonationalist terrorists and religious or sacred terrorists. All four types have enjoyed periods of relative prominence in the modern era... Currently, 'sacred terrorism is becoming more significant."

**Factors which led to the emergence of transnational terrorism**

Three factors led to the emergence of transnational terrorism in 1968:

**The expansion of commercial air travel** : air travel gave terrorist unprecedented mobility. Air travel appealed to terrorist for multiple reasons. Airport security measures, including passport control, were almost non-existent when terrorists began hijacking airplanes. Hijacked airplanes offered a degree of mobility, and therefore security for the terrorists involved. States acquiesced to terrorist demands, which encourage further incidents. As a result incidents of skyjacking skyrocketed from 5 in 1966 to 94 in 1969.

**The availability of televised news converge**: televised news coverage played a key role in expanding the audience who could witness the threat of terrorism in their own homes. Individuals who had never heard of ‘ the plight of the Palestinians’ became nationally aware of the issue after related incidents. Although media coverage was termed as the oxygen that sustains terrorism, terrorists discovered that reporters and audiences lost interest in repeat

performances over time. To sustain viewer interest and compete for coverage, terror groups undertook increasingly spectacular attacks, such as the seizure of OPEC delegates in Austria in December 1975. This understanding might explain why several terrorist groups have attempted to acquire or use weapons of mass destruction (WMD), including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

**Broad political and ideological interests among extremists that intersected around a common cause:** the Iranian 'Islamic Revolution' of 1979 was a watershed event in transnational terrorism. Although Israeli interests remained primary target for attack, due to continued sympathy for the Palestinians cause, a number of citizens began to target citizens and other symbols of West. The decade of terrorism (1980–1990) included incidents such as suicide bombings (Lebanon, 1983) and hijacking. Three disturbing trends in terrorism since 1968 include: the increasing sophistication of attacks; fewer attacks that were more deadly and indiscriminate; and a greater willingness to perform suicide attacks. During the 1990s transnational Marxist–Leninist groups have been replaced by global militant Islamic terrorist groups.

### **Definition of Islamic Extremism and explanation for its expansion :**

- Violent Islamic extremism drew global recognition as a result of terrorist attacks conducted by Al Qaeda, 'The Base', in New York and Washington, DC, on 11 September 2001.

But what exactly is violent Islamic extremism? Is it a global movement threatening Western civilization and values, an aggression of sub-state groups connected to a common cause, or merely an extremist set of beliefs that justifies political violence to fulfill militant Islamic myths?

Experts continue to debate what violent Islamic extremism is, what it represents, and the actual threat or poses, in part even though Al Qaeda has lost territory and most of its senior leadership, the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria has expanded its influence and reach.

Today violent Islamic extremism appears less identifiable with any single terrorist group and more as a global movement that markets and exploits its own form of violent and radical religious ideology in a loose network of 'franchised' cells and groups.

**Efforts to explain the vitality of global terrorism in general - and violent Islamic extremism in particular - focus on three areas which are linked to aspects of globalization :**

**Cultural Explanation:** culture offers one way to explain why violent Islamic extremism's call for armed struggle has been successful in underdeveloped countries. The social changes associated with globalization and the spread of free market capitalism appear to overwhelm the identity or values of groups who perceive themselves as the losers in the new international system. In an attempt to preserve their threatened identity and values, groups actively distinguish themselves from 'despised others'. At the local level this cultural friction may translate into conflicts divided along religious or ethnic lines that aim to safeguard identity.

Samuel Huntington suggests that a major-fault line exists between the liberal Western civilization and an Islamic one, which is 'humiliated and resentful of the West's military presence in the Persian Gulf, the West's overwhelming military dominance and unable to shape their own destiny.

Critics of Huntington argue that he ascribes a degree of homogeneity within the Islamic world that simply does not exist. Theologically and culturally the Islamic civilization contains a number of deep fault lines that impede the cooperation required to challenge the West. The extremely bloody sectarian violence between Sunni and Shi'a in Iraq was one example of these very real fissures. Violent Islamic extremist calls to kill individuals including non-combatants, non-believers, and fellow Muslims represent another internal fault-line.

Osama bin Laden gave unequivocal sanction to al-Zarqawi to kill Muslim Shi'a in Iraq. Such actions call into question the morality of the means and therefore the legitimacy of the Bin-Ladin and militant Islam as the champion of Muslim Values among the wider and moderate Islamic community.

**Economic Explanations:** Although globalization provides access to a world market for goods and services, the net result has also been perceived as a form of Western economic imperialism. The United States and the post-industrial

states of Western Europe form the global North, or economic core, which dominated international economic institutions China as the World Bank, sets exchange rates, and determines fiscal policies. These actions and policies can be unfavorable to the underdeveloped countries, or global South, that comprise the periphery or gap. Political decisions by the leaders of underdeveloped countries to deregulate or privatize industries to be competitive globally may lead to significant domestic social and political upheaval. The citizenry may shift loyalties to illegal activities such as terrorism if the state breaks its social contract with them.

With little possible opportunity to obtain wealth locally, individuals will lead to pursue opportunities elsewhere. Paradoxically, rising standards of living and greater excess to education associated with globalization may lead to increases individual expectations. If these expectations are unrealized, individuals may turn to extreme political views and action against the 'system' that denies them the opportunity to realize their ambitions. Within violent Islamic extremist groups, however, most leaders and senior operatives attended graduate schools around the globe in fields as diverse as engineering and theology, and was neither poor nor downtrodden.

Terrorist violence is motivated by inequalities in global economy. Therefore, terrorist attack against the World Trade Centre in 1993 and 2001 we're not reactions against the policies of the United States per se, but rather a blow against an icon of global capitalism. Many violent Islamic extremist terrorists in Europe have employment rates and salaries that are close to EU averages for their age groups, and the same hold true for the current generation of European recruits for so-called Islamic State. The changing character of militant Islamic violence and its spread to poorer countries such as Yemen, Mali, Nigeria and elsewhere, suggests that while the ideology, leadership, and facilitation are still the purview of the relatively privileged within the terrorist groups, economic and ethnic factors may increasingly become the means by which the next generation of terrorists are recruited.

**Religion Explanation :** Postmodern or new terrorism was conducted for different reasons altogether. Motivated by promises of reward in the afterlife, some terrorists are driven by religious reason to kill as many non-believers

and unfaithful as possible.

New terrorism which some authors use to explain the global jihad, is seen as a reaction of the received oppression of Muslims worldwide and the spiritual bankruptcy of the West. As globalization spreads and societies become increasingly interconnected, some Muslims felt they have only one choice: accept Western beliefs to better integrate, or preserve spiritual purity by rebelling.

Believers in the global jihad view the rulers of 'Islamic countries' such as Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia, or Iraq as apostates who have compromised their values in the pursuit and maintenance of secular, state-based power. The only possible response is to fight against such influences through jihad.

Most Islamic scholars and imams understand jihad to mean the internal struggle for purity spiritually, although it has been interpreted historically as a method to establish the basis of just war. Extremists who espouse militant Islam understand jihad in a different way. For them there can be no compromise with either infidels or apostates.

There is a difference in value structures between secular and religious terrorists. This difference in value allows a religious terrorist to kill themselves and others to secure reward in the afterlife, whereas a secular terrorist has had its goal the pursuit of power in order to correct flaws in society but retain the overarching system.

In addition to religious factors, cultural and economic factors can have their share in the personal motivations which convince an individual terrorist to take their own lives and kill others. They can include promises of financial rewards for family members, achieving fame within a community, taking revenge for some grievance, or simply achieving a form of self-actualizing. Yet few religious terrestrial leaders, planners and coordinators martyr themselves.

A common theme among jihadi statements is another political purpose: overthrowing apostate regimes and assuming political power. Political power is necessary to impose the militant Islamic form of Sharia Law in a state and restore the just and pure society of the caliphate.

# **Globalization and Terrorism**

Few challenges the point that terrorism has become much more pervasive worldwide due to the processes and technologies of globalization. *The technological advances associated with globalization have improved the capabilities of terrorist groups to plan and conduct operations with far more devastation and coordination than their predecessors could have imagined. In particular technologies have improved the capabilities of terrorist groups and cells in the following areas:*

**Proselytizing** terrorist groups have traditionally sought sympathy and support within national boundaries or in neighboring countries as a means to sustain their efforts. Sustaining terrorist causes has traditionally been difficult as terrorist messages, goals and grievances tend to extreme, and therefore less appealing. States have traditionally as an advantage in their ability to control information flows and use their resources to win the battle of hearts and minds against terrorist groups. But terrorist leaders understand how the internet has changed this dynamic as they are battling in the battlefield of contemporary media.

The continued expansion of the number of internet service providers combined with increasingly inexpensive mobile devices, laptops, tablets, software applications, and wireless technologies, have empowered individuals and groups to post pamphlets on or send messages throughout the internet and social media. Although prominent Jihadi terrorist's physical presence can be removed through imprisonment and death their virtual presence and influence is immortalized on the internet.

Today terrorist supporters and sympathizers build their own websites and boast thousands of followers on social media. For example terrorist groups in Chechnya and the Middle East have made increasing use of video cameras to record the preparations for and results of attacks. Messages, files and polemics can be dispatched almost instantaneously to almost anywhere on the globe via Facebook, Twitter or instant messaging.

**Coordination** the technologies associated with globalization have enabled terrorist cells and groups to mount coordinated attacks in different countries. Indeed, a



hallmark of violent Islamic extremist groups is their ability to conduct multiple attacks in different locations such as six separate gun and bomb attacks by Islamic State operatives in central Paris and St Denis in November 2015. The technologies associated with globalization, including commercially available handheld radios and phones, have allowed terrorist cell members to operate independently at substantial distances from one another and network together. For example, the 9/11 hijackers used cheap and readily available prepaid phone cards to communicate between cell leaders and senior leadership.

**Security** terrorist cells without adequate security precautions are vulnerable to discovery and detection. The technological enablers of globalization assist terrorist cells and leaders in preserving their security in a number of ways, including distributing elements in a coordinate network, remaining mobile, and using encrypted communications.

Technological advancements, including faster processing speeds and software developments, now mean that those sympathetic to terrorist causes can contribute to the cause virtually through servers located hundreds or thousands of miles away.

Concerns about infringements on civil liberties and privacy during the early years of the internet led to the development of 128-bit and 256-bit encryption freeware that is extremely costly and time consuming to crack. In addition, access to hardware such as computers and mobile phones can be restricted via the use of locks. Terrorist groups have been able to leverage technological developments like such which are designed to shield a user's identity from unauthorized commercial and private exploitation.

**Mobility** Mobility has always been a crucial consideration for terrorists. In open societies with well-developed infrastructure, terrorists have been able to move rapidly within and across borders.

Globalization has exponentially increased the volume of air travel and goods that pass through ports and across borders. Measures have been taken to ease the flow of goods, services and ideas among states to improve efficiency and reduce cost, for example among EU member states. Thus use of air travel by terrorists has been well documented.

Terrorist use of transportation need not necessarily be overt in nature, as the volume of goods transported in support of a globalized economy is increasing and difficult to monitor effectively. Customs officials can not inspect all of the vehicles or containers passing through border points or ports. To illustrate the scale of problem, Pakistan received more than a million and a half containers per year. States fear that terrorist groups will use containers as a cheap means to ship WMD.

**Lethality** since the end of the Cold War , some terrorist leaders have expressed both the desire and will to use WMD. US troops recovered evidence in Afghanistan in 2001 that outlined plans by Al Qaeda to produce and test biological and chemical weapons under a plan code-named “ zabadi”. Violent Islamic extremist statements have mentioned a fawa which supports the use of any means, including WMD, to kill as many infidels and apostates as possible. In Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan, insurgents and terrorist groups have built sophisticated ‘ improvised explosive devices’ (IEDs). Digital videos suggest that terrorist conduct distance learning through a ‘ virtual jihad academy’ in which aspirant terrorists study everything from conducting ambush attacks to making and using IEDs, to increase their lethality.

## **Combating Terrorism**

- States plagued by transnational terrorism responded individually and collectively to the phenomenon during the Cold War. Responses included passing anti-terrorism laws , taking preventive security measures at airport, and creating special operations counter terrorism forces. It was a normative and multilateral approach to tackling the problem , founded on the principle of international law and collective action , which proved less successful. States initiated cooperative measures which were successfully implemented, for instance International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to improve information sharing and legal cooperation. However, most initiatives and responses throughout 80s were largely unilateral, regional or ad hoc in nature.
- State leaders disagree on how best to deal with the current form of global terrorist violence. Some national leaders view violent extremism as an intractable problem in which there can be no negotiation. The stakes in ‘ the

Long War' consist of preservation of basic freedoms and a way of life. In order to defeat terrorism individual states have a responsibility to protect civilian populations while dealing with terrorist cells, supporters and sympathizers within their own borders. Given the global, elusive, and adaptive character of the violent Islamic extremist threat, the best approach to deal with global terrorism is to pool resources together in a coalition of the willing : the global North improving the capabilities of the global South. The end result will be the development of a Global Counter-Terrorism Network of states able to detect, track, and eliminate terrorist threats while non-military efforts address the root causes of terrorism.

**Drones :-** one example of globalization in practice has been the United States' use of unarmed and armed Global Hawk, Predator, and Reaper drones to conduct surveillance and strikes against terrorist targets. The drones are flown remotely, their video feeds are disseminated to operations centers and users locally, regionally and globally, and attacks are authorized, monitored and conducted without US forces having to engage in direct combat. While the US claims these operations have succeeded in gathering intelligence and attacking terrorist operations, the use of drones has also prompted claims of 'extra-judicial' or 'targeted killings' .

- **The Law Enforcement Approach to Terrorism:** Other national leaders are less comfortable with the concept of 'war' against terrorism. In their view military actions can only lead to terrorist reprisals/retaliations. In their eyes, Terrorism is a crime that is best dealt with through law enforcement methods. By dealing with terrorism as a police problem, states uphold the rule of law, maintain the most high ground, preserve democratic principles, and prevent the establishment of martial law. Military force should only be used in extreme circumstances and even then its use may have negative consequences. Terrorism is best dealt with inside state borders and through cooperative international law enforcement efforts to arrest suspect and provide them with due process. This law enforcement approach to terrorism must balance taking enough measures against terrorist groups without crossing over into the realm of 'political justice'. But this approach risks offering terrorist groups a sanctuary and the security of rights and laws.

- **NGOs suspicions against GWOT:** The opinions of some NGOs expressed online and their followers have also been critical of the 'war' on terror. They are suspicious of the motives of the political elites of the West, especially of the US. They suggest that wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere are the first stage in the establishment of an Orwellian system, (associated with George Orwell's novel 1984 and denotes modern representative states' attitude and a brutal policy of draconian control by propaganda, surveillance, misinformation, denial of truth, and manipulation of the past), that is constantly in conflict with the terrorist 'other' to justify continuous violation of personal rights and privacy.
- **Dealing with terrorism :** Although disagreements still exist over how best to deal with terrorism philosophically, pragmatically the largest problem is locating terrorists and isolating them from their means of support. Locating them is a tedious and time consuming process and requires collecting, assessing and analyzing information. Informational technologies associated with globalization are helpful in this process. However, discovery of terrorist cells has much to do with luck and purifying non technical initiatives. In order to deal with global terrorism, the international community must address its most problematic modern aspects : the appeal of messages that inspire terrorists to commit horrific acts of violence. Killing or capturing individuals does little to health the spread of extremist viewpoints that can occur under the guise of discussion and education. In the case of Islam, for example, radical mullahs and imams twist the tenets of the religion into the doctrine of hatred, where spiritual achievement occurs through destruction rather than personal enlightenment. Precisely how the processes and technologies of globalization can assist in delegitimizing the pedagogy/teaching that incites terrorists will remain one of the most vexing challenges for the international community.

## **Conclusion :**

The onset of the 'Arab Spring' and the 'Twitter Revolution', combined with the death of Osama Bin Laden, led some to suggest that militant Islamic Terrorism was in its final breath. However, the spectacular rise of so-called Islamic State, together with terrorism attacks in Paris in 2015 and in Brussels in 2016, serve as a

reminder that such terrorism will be with us for years to come. Terrorism remains a complex phenomenon in which violence is used to obtain political power or to redress grievances that the process of globalization may have rendered more acute. Globalization has increased the technical capabilities of terrorists and given them global reach, but it has not altered the fundamental nature of terrorism. The benefits that globalization provides terrorists are neither one-sided nor absolute. The same technologies and processes also enable effective means for states to combat them. The challenge for the global community will be in utilizing its advantages to win the war of ideas that motivates and sustains those responsible for the current wave of terrorist violence.